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FROM: PARIS

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TO: Secretary of State

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NO: 3354, MARCH 14, 3 PM

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By TEC NARA Date 1/4/80

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NameFOLLOWING ARE SOME GENERAL IMPRESSIONS AS FIRST WEEK
OF WORKING GROUP SESSION IN PARIS DRAWS TO CLOSE:

1. BRITISH SEEM TO BE INTERESTED IN MAINTAINING MAXIMUM FLUIDITY IN WESTERN POSITIONS LIMITING WORKING GROUP REPORT LARGELY TO POSING ISSUES FOR LATER RESOLUTION. THIS PRESUMABLY RELATED TO DESIRE GIVE MACMILLAN OPPORTUNITY TO PUSH HIS IDEAS IN ALL THREE CAPITALS BEFORE COMMITTING THEMSELVES. REACTION OF BRITISH DELEGATION TO OUR ELEMENTS PAPER AS PLAN WITH PUBLIC APPEAL HAS BEEN GENERALLY FAVORABLE, BUT THEY OBVIOUSLY REGARD BERLIN PROPOSALS WHICH WEST PREPARED TO MAKE POSSIBLY SEPARATE FROM GENERAL SETTLEMENT AS CRUX OF PROBLEM AND WILL WANT TO KEEP WESTERN POSITION ON THESE OPEN. BRITISH APPARENTLY ALSO WISH TO POSE QUESTION OF WHETHER ANY SECURITY MEASURE IN EUROPE CAN BE TAKEN SEPARATE FROM POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. THIS ATTITUDE REFLECTED IN THEIR UNWILLINGNESS EVEN TO DRAFT AT THIS TIME AGREED ESTIMATE OF SOVIET INTENTIONS WHICH MIGHT PRECONDITION WESTERN APPROACH.

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-2- 3354, MARCH 14, 3 PM, FROM PARIS.

2. FRENCH ARE FOLLOWING CONSERVATIVE ESSENTIALLY NEGATIVE LINE AND FOR DIFFERENT REASONS MAY BE EXPECTED TO END WITH BRITISH IN SUPPORTING WORKING GROUP REPORT MAIN FUNCTION OF WHICH WILL BE TO POSE ISSUES FOR LATER RESOLUTION. TRADITIONAL FRENCH ATTITUDES ON SUBJECT LIKE DISARMAMENT FEATURES AMERICAN PAPER CONTINUE TO DOMINATE. HOWEVER, THEY HAVE APPARENTLY NOT DROPPED IDEA OF SOME SPECIAL STATUS FOR REUNIFIED GERMANY IN NATO AND MAY COME UP WITH SOME NEW FORMULATION ON THIS SUBJECT AND A DECLARATION ON EXCLUSION IRBMS FROM ZONE OF LIMITATIONS.

3. OTHER THAN REVIVAL OF FECHTER-MEISSNER REUNIFICATION PLAN (PORTIONS OF WHICH ADOPTED IN AMERICAN PAPER), GERMANS SEEM TO HAVE LITTLE TO CONTRIBUTE. THEY HAVE INDICATED THAT MORE MAY BE EXPECTED WHEN GREWE COMES FROM BONN NEXT WEEK, HINTING THEY HAVE SOME PROPOSALS TO ADVANCE IN EUROPEAN SECURITY FIELD BUT ARE RELUCTANT TO DO BEFORE THEY HAVE SOME BASIS FOR ESTIMATING PROBABLE AMERICAN REACTION.

4. TABLING OF AMERICAN ELEMENTS PAPER HAS HAD STIMULATING EFFECT AND PLAN FOR REUNIFICATION AND EUROPEAN SECURITY WILL UNDOUBTEDLY APPEAR IN WORKING GROUP REPORT, PERHAPS AS MAJOR ANNEX. HOWEVER, FOR REASONS INDICATED ABOVE, SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT REPORT WILL HAVE BASIC FOUR-PART STRUCTURE, AS SET FORTH PARAGRAPH ONE OF AMERICAN PAPER. GIVEN CIRCUMSTANCES, WE DO NOT CONSIDER THIS TRAGEDY AS LONG AS IMPORTANT ISSUES WHICH CAN ONLY BE RESOLVED AT HIGHER LEVEL ARE CLEARLY INDICATED.

5. AS TO WESTERN REPLY SOVIET NOTE OF MARCH 2, PRIMARY UNRESOLVED ISSUES ARE FORMULATION OF AGENDA AND LANGUAGE RES SUMMIT MEETING. AS LONG AS BRITISH REMAIN TIGHTLY BOUND BY PRESENT INSTRUCTIONS FROM MACMILLAN POSSIBILITY OF REACHING ANY AGREEMENT BY EARLY NEXT WEEK SEEMS REMOTE. FYI HANCOCK PERSONALLY PREFERENCES OUR LANGUAGE ON AGENDA AND PROBABLY ON SUMMIT AND CAN BE COUNTED ON TO MAKE EFFECTIVE PRESENTATION FRENCH AND OUR ARGUMENTS AGAINST BRITISH FORMULATIONS. —

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6. WE HAVE JUST LEARNED FROM VON BAUDISSIN THAT MACMILLAN AND ADENAUER APPARENTLY REACHED AGREEMENT IN BONN THAT EFFORTS TO COORDINATE WESTERN REPLY TO SOVIET NOTE SHOULD CEASE UNTIL AFTER MACMILLAN VISIT TO WASHINGTON. THIS PRESUMABLY MEANS BOTH GERMAN AND BRITISH DELEGATIONS WILL BE INSTRUCTED TO CEASE DISCUSSIONS THIS SUBJECT IN WORKING GROUP.

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